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San Ildefonso

THE VILLAGE BACKGROUND

THE TEWA PUEBLO of San Ildefonso (or Powhoge, "where the water cuts down through") [1] lies twenty-two miles by road northwest of Santa Fe, New Mexico, near the east bank of the Rio Grande. It is a small pueblo numbering one hundred and twenty-eight souls. North of the pueblo grant lies the Black Mesa, haunt of the "Giant," the local bogey man; to the south stretches the canyon of the Rio Grande; to the west is the Jemez range, and to the east, beyond a number of Spanish-American villages and rancheras, is the ancient pueblo of Pojoaque. Between the pueblo and the Rio Grande and Pojoaque rivers are the village fields; here, among the mesas that form the foreground of the Jemez range, the few horses and cattle of the villagers graze. The rest of the pueblo grant is arid, covered with piñon and cedar; of its 19,305 acres, only 305 acres are in farms.[2] The altitude of San Ildefonso is high—more than 5,000 feet—the rainfall is slight, and the temperature hot in summer and cold in the winter months.

There is a tradition among the people that their ancestors came from the north—some say from Mesa Verde—and that, moving south, they came in time to occupy the villages of Potsuwi, Sankewi, and Otowi, among the high mountains of the Pajarito plateau.[3] Later, as the sources of water gradually failed, they were forced into the valley of the Rio Grande, where the Spaniards found them in the sixteenth century.

[1] John Peabody Harrington, *Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians* (School of American Research, Papers, No. 40, 1918), p. 303.
[2] Division of Extension and Industry, *Annual Report*, 1933.
[3] Edgar Lee Hewett, *Antiquities of the Jemez Plateau* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 28, 1906), pp. 20, 23–25; Harrington, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

[P. 3]

5:Whitman E-5 (1936-1939) 1947 NT18 Tewa NT18
San Ildefonso

THE VILLAGE BACKGROUND

175 648 Just when San Ildefonso was first visited by the Spanish is not definitely settled, but in 1593 Leyva de Bouilla and Antonio Gutierrez de Humana were said to have made it their headquarters on an abortive expedition into New Mexico.[4] In 1598 Oñate stopped at San Ildefonso, which he referred to as Bove.[5] At that time the pueblo stood about a mile south of its present location. A mission was built there in 1617, and from [797] then until 1680 Santa Clara and San Juan were *visitas*. In 1680 the village joined in the Pueblo revolt, after killing the two resident missionaries. When De Vargas descended on it in 1694, all the villagers retired to the top of the Black Mesa, where they heroically defended themselves against assault; but in September of the same year they decided to capitulate and thereupon surrendered to the Spanish.[6] Two years later, in 1696, they made their last short-lived bid for independence when they burned the new Catholic church and convent and murdered the missionaries. The Pueblo was then rebuilt north of the ruins and in 1717 a new church was erected near the site of the older one.

Since the revolt, the pueblo has been at peace with the outside world, accepting without active protest the successive overlordships of Spain, Mexico, and the United States; few references to it appear in the literature of the period. After [164] the coming of the Spanish, smallpox and other diseases gradually reduced the population from 484 in 1760 to 128 in 1937.[7]

[113] [4] George P. Hammond, *Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico* (Santa Fe, 1927).

[5] Earle Robert Forrest, *Missions and Pueblos of the Old Southwest* (Glendale, Calif., 1929), p. 67.

[6] Adolph F. A. Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwest United States* (2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1890–92), II, 82.

[7] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1889), pp. 214, 215, 217, 274.

THE VILLAGE BACKGROUND 9

witchcraft, though we never heard any such charge leveled against the group as a whole or any individual in it.)

For the most part the two communities are independent of one another, and the attitude of the pueblo towards their neighbors is a mixture of superiority, friendliness, and hostility. The Indians, because they are not taxed and because the government aids them, are wealthier than their neighbors and the success of the pottery makers within recent years has added to this difference in wealth. Many San Ildefonso women employ Spanish-American women to wash, sweep, and clean for them. The children of the two groups seldom, if ever, play together.

Intermarriage is frowned on by the Indians, and seldom occurs. When it does, the Spanish-American spouse may not live in the pueblo, but may enter during the day. No Spanish-American may enter the kiva, and the religious practices of the pueblo are carefully hidden from Spanish-American eyes. We were told for instance that certain ceremonies were held at midnight or very early in the morning, so that the Spanish-Americans living in the pueblo might not see them.

FACTIONS Like most of the pueblos, San Ildefonso is split by internal dissension. The two factions are the North People (*Pimpieinai t'owa*) and South People (*Agompieinai t'owa*), members of the North and South plazas, respectively. While the factional split was caused largely by economic pressures, the people think of it in religious terms.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the pueblo was centered about what is now the North Plaza, but according to report[9] the village was unhealthy. Disease was rife; infant

[9] Edgar Lee Hewett, *Ancient Life in the American Southwest* (Indianapolis, 1930), p. 82.

5: Whitman E-5 (1936-1939) 1947 NT18 Tewa NT18
San Ildefonso

THE KOSSA The Koshare, or Kossa, is the most important of the existing societies that do not make moiety a basis for membership. The Kossa were associated with the Water Serpent and the "rain-sending and crop-bringing kachina." They were said to have the power to bring rain. They carried water to the kiva from the sacred cardinal springs, summoned the dancers for the dances, and called the women to the kiva for ceremonies. During certain ceremonies they guarded the dancers from possible evil. When "asked" to appear at dances (I was told that the Kossa had to be "asked" before they could appear), they were privileged to act as clowns and behave in a way which would have been considered profoundly improper if indulged in by other members of the pueblo.

"In general the clowns have a punitive and policing function in ceremonial matters," writes Parsons,

> and through their license in speech and song a somewhat similar function in domestic matters, ridicule being a strong weapon among the pueblos.
>
> The flood-sending water serpent in the Rio Grande Valley has a punitive character. So it is quite consistent that the clowns should be associated with the water serpent and with the rain-sending and crop-bringing kachina. But the clown groups have direct weather control and fertility functions, they themselves impersonate kachina or other supernaturals who live in springs or lakes. As scouts or war dance assistants the clowns have war functions. In short, through their police power, their magical power and their license in conduct, all fear-inspiring characters, social regulation is an outstanding function of the clown groups.[11]

[11] E. C. Parsons and R. L. Beals, "The Sacred Clowns of the Pueblo and Mayo-Yaqui Indians," *American Anthropologist*, XXXVI (1934), 499 ff. Reprinted by permission of the authors and the publishers.

5: Whitman E-5 (1938-1939) 1947 NT18 Tewa NT18
San Ildefonso

the South Plaza was another member of the Kossa; in that capacity he appeared to enjoy burlesque in a quiet fashion. He loved to dance and enjoyed the clowning that is a Kossa's privilege. The three women members of the Kossa all belonged to the North Plaza. During our stay they did not appear at any of the dances, although they did appear during a harvest dance in the fall.

The Kwirana (the Keresan name is Kurenna), a society somewhat similar to the Kossa, still exists in some of the Tewa pueblos, but not in San Ildefonso.[12] The Tseoke or War Society is another that no longer exists, although one man in the village is said to have inherited the paraphernalia.

Formerly there were two women's societies known as the Summer Blue Corn Girls and the Winter Blue Corn Girls.[13] The division was by moiety. A girl decided when she was about thirteen whether or not she wished to join. Each society had its own leader and its own ceremonies, which I was told were chiefly for rain. There were no fertility rites for children ("or anything of that sort") or to make crops ripen and be fruitful. The real work of these societies was said to be the care of sick children, but I regret to say this seems unlikely. The societies ceased to exist in San Ildefonso many years ago. They appear to have had no voice (as has been suggested) in electing or proposing village officers.

GOVERNMENT Benevolent paternalism is implicit in the concept of social control at San Ildefonso. The highest authority

[12] Parsons, *Social Organization of the Tewa of New Mexico*, p. 130. Parsons was given the names of two men said to belong to the Kwirana Society, but unfortunately her informant was most unreliable, a fact which Dr Parsons herself has been the first to recognize.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

5:Whitman E-5 (1936-1939) 1947 NT18 Tewa NT18
San Ildefonso

323 women to do better and better work, and in particular induced them to return to the sound canons of native art. Some old pieces remained in the Pueblo, many others were in the Museum, of still others photographs were obtained. These were all brought to the attention of the potters.[1]

323 When the Museum of New Mexico was organized at Santa
648 Fe in 1909, Dr. Hewett had several of the women come in from San Ildefonso to the Governor's Palace to demonstrate their art. Among them were Ramona Gonzales, Maria, Maximilliana, and Desideria Montoya, and Tonita Roybal. During this period Julian Martinez, husband of Maria Montoya, was employed as janitor in the Museum and took a keen interest in pottery design.

323 In 1915 Dr. Hewett was appointed to take charge of the
439 anthropological exhibits at the Panama-California Exposition. Here an Indian pueblo was built on the grounds and Indian crafts were exhibited. Two or three of the Indians from San Ildefonso worked at their pottery before the large crowds; among them were Julian and Maria, and here they discovered that they could get better prices for their pots than they had believed possible. Where previously they had charged a dollar they began to charge two. But while this was a stimulus to pottery-making, it did not of itself solve the problem of encouraging the Indians to make better pots.

The undertaking was not an easy one, however, for it was difficult to get most of the women to go to the trouble of making good pieces when the tourists, who were still the principal purchasers, were equally or even better pleased with imitations of china water-

[113] [1] Carl E. Guthe, *Pueblo Pottery-Making: a Study at the Village of San Ildefonso* (Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1925); Introduction by A. V. Kidder, p. 13. This and the following excerpts are reprinted by permission of the publisher.

5:Whitman E-5 (1936-1939) 1947 NT18 Tewa NT18
San Ildefonso

535 796 passed. As the procession came near the orchestra, the members breathed on their hands and passed them lightly down the sides of the animals. Led by the dancers the whole procession now moved as one towards the North Plaza, where the dancers entered the house that served as a retreat. The animals had arrived.

Mass that day was celebrated at eleven. After mass the animals appeared and danced again, and retired once more into the dance house.

Meanwhile the South Plaza was getting ready to dance the Comanche Dance. Shortly after the animals had retired in the North Plaza, the Comanche dancers, dressed in Western Plains costume and wearing war bonnets and carrying long lances, appeared in the South Plaza and danced towards the church. The women were dressed in bright silk mantas. They wore crowns of feathers on their heads and carried two large feathers in each hand. Men and women danced before the church and then returned to the South Plaza and danced by the Round Kiva.

522 535 796 THE PINTO DANCE This is a man's dance. It was danced by the South Plaza on February 14. The men and boys wore spruce boughs in their belts. The three male Kossa were out, one with a spear with which he pretended to hunt stray dogs, another with a steel helmet (a souvenir of the first World War). There was a great deal of mockery and laughter.[3] The third Kossa danced and sang, burlesquing modern dances. In particular the clowns burlesqued white photographers. They seized one who was present and pretended to take

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[3] See E. C. Parsons and R. L. Beals, "The Sacred Clowns of the Pueblo and Mayo-Yaqui Indians," *American Anthropology*, XXXVI (1930), 449 ff.

6:Whitman E-5 (1936-1937) 1940 NT18 Tewa NT18
San Ildefonso

their religious duties. The modern man has these traits to a surprising degree. There are no outstanding leaders, though this does not imply that there are not great personality differences.

While the older men are well integrated and at harmony with the culture, maladjustments do occur, particularly among the young men who have been away from the pueblo to school or college and who find difficulty in settling down to the slow pace of pueblo life. Moodiness, intemperance and cultivating White people and White ways are, on the whole, the symptoms of their maladjustment.

The same standards that apply to men apply equally to women. Above all, they should be industrious. Since women seldom leave the pueblo and since the culture offers them fewer choices, their horizon is more limited than that of men and they are more conservative. They do not smoke or drink or gad about. On the whole, women appear to be better adjusted [111] to the demands of their culture, than men.

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[111] Only two women are unhappily married. These are two young women who are very progressive and modern, drive motor cars, and have worked outside the pueblo. Maria, who has introduced so many innovations into the pueblo, is one of the finest types of pueblo women. She is intelligent and industrious. While she conforms to traditional behavior, her natural force of character commands others.

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San Juan

797

Juan de Jesus Trujillo	Oct. 12, 1845 – Jan. 4, 1846
Antonio Jesus Salazar	Jan. 25, 1846 – Mar. 15, 1846
Jose Eulogio Ortiz	Dec. 12, 1854 – June 7, 1857
	Feb. 1, 1859 – Mar. 2, 1862
Ramon Medina	June 10, 1857 – Jan. 29, 1859
	Apr. 25, 1862 – June 24, 1862
Francisco Boucard	July 3, 1862 – Nov. 24, 1865
Pedro Lassigne	Dec. 12, 1865 – July 12, 1868
Camilo Seux	July 15, 1868 – Jan. 22, 1922
S. Alvernhe	Jan. 1, 1914 – May 4, 1922
Joseph Pajot	May 4, 1922 – present

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Tewa NT18
Hopi NT9
Keres NT12

TABLE 10 — (*Concluded*).

Generic	*Hopi*	*Zuñi*	*Keres*	*Tanoan*
11. a. Badger	Badger Moth-Butterfly	Badger[16]	Badger	Badger
11. b. Bear[17]	Bear Spider Rope	Bear	Bear	Bear Bluebird
12. a. Turquoise[18]	[19]	——	Turquoise	Turquoise
12. b. Shell-Coral	[19]	——	Shell-Coral	Shell-Coral
Unplaced:	Ba[illegible]	Yellow Wood	*Stone "Ivy" Salt Sage	Stone Grass
			And a few others, mostly of doubtful authenticity and reported from single pueblos.	

[1] It must be borne in mind that this table includes only clans listed by some authority as actually occurring, under the names in question, in some pueblo of each group. The principal source is F. W. Hodge's valuable table of Pueblo Indian clans in *American Anthropologist*, old series, IX, 345–352, 1896. The Hopi synonyms have been used to identify clans that appear dissimilar in the several localities; but have not themselves been inserted, except when specifically mentioned in one of the Hopi censuses. There are Dove and Panther clans in Keresan towns: at Hopi only Rattlesnake and Cactus are listed, with Dove and Panther as synonyms or sub-clans. All the identifications rest upon definite data of this sort, with the exception of a few rather obvious connections, which are mentioned in the notes as being conjectural.

[16] The word means "rattlesnake" in Hopi and other Shoshonean dialects.

[17] The town at Zuñi before 1680 was called "ant-place;" in fact the modern town is still sometimes so referred to; and there is an ant fraternity.

[18] The placing of the Buffalo, Gourd or Calabash, Duck-Goose, Sky, and Moon clans in the table rests upon tentative guesses by the author, and not upon any known native classification.

[19] Represented by a Crane clan subdivision, Mokyisaikwe, a tapering striped pumpkin.

[20] Mentioned by Cushing as extinct. I was told of the Miky'anmakwe or Corn-ear Water people as a sub-clan of Corn.

[21] With subdivisions as to color which have been disregarded here.

[22] Fewkes and Mindeleff both give "sand," but comparative vocabularies show the word to have the more generic meaning of "earth" also.

[23] The Kyakkwoniosi or highest priest, and the Pekkwinne or "speaker" for the sun, the two ranking officials in the Ko-tikkyanne or god-fraternity of Zuñi, the basic tribal religious organization corresponding to the Hopi Kachina society, "which includes all males"